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the type of houses in which Chinese families live in the Shanghai foreign areas so that the "house" unit has some meaning. Of 41,160 houses in which 113,286 families lived in the most congested areas, the modal figure, that holding for the greatest number of families, namely 22,764, was four families to a house. The median figure was 4.6 families. Expressed in terms of persons, the mode was 24 inhabitants per house.

In the summer of 1938, a year after the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities, the manager of a large textile mill requested a study of the living conditions of workers employed in the factory, the majority of whom lived in the usual type of house. It was found that the modal number of families in 60 houses studied was 7.22; the median was 5.81.

Housing developments where the bulk of the Chinese population lives consist of row after row of two-storied houses,[3] the rows separated by alleyways. The so-called "Chinese house" represents a recognised type of building construction in which the frame is made of native Foochow poles or of imported Oregon pine. If Foochow poles are used, the height is limited by the length of the poles, which in general permit two-storey buildings, each floor ten to twelve feet in height. The width of the house is usually eleven to twelve feet, and the depth varies from twenty-four to forty feet. The house itself originally contains a single front room downstairs, and a kitchen behind, with two rooms above. By the construction of horizontal and perpendicular partitions, however, spaces are provided for additional families. A principal tenant rents the house from a landlord, and by sub-divisions produces what Chinese call *pai ke hsiang*—a dovecote, with cubby-holes in each of which a family lives.

The typical Shanghai "Chinese house" is entered from the small courtyard in the front. One steps into the main downstairs room which is often the residence of the principal tenant, who may cut off a narrow passageway to provide the other tenants with access to their own quarters, or may permit his own room to be the passageway. As a rule, he builds a vertical partition toward the back of the room, thus making a second room which lacks a window. This room in turn may have a horizontal partition, creating an upper space, access to which can be obtained half-way up the

[3] In later years three-storied houses have become common.

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342 362 stairway. This dark loft may be the only home that many a family knows. The kitchen, at the rear of the house, may or may not be used for its original purpose; more likely it is the residence of yet another family, while portable coal-briquette stoves are placed anywhere for cooking purposes. In the same way the upper front room may have both vertical and horizontal partitions, making spaces for other families; and the room above the kitchen will house yet another household. The area for each family is obviously minimal.

511 362 The alteration of buildings without permit was illegal. Application should be made to the Building Surveyor of the Public Works Department for permission to carry out any building alterations. In practice, however, it was very difficult to detect interior alterations while they were being made. While theoretically the removal of unauthorized structures might be required, and while the Building Surveyor waged a vigilant struggle against such structures, there were certain difficulties in the way of complete enforcement. Not the least of these difficulties was the fact that the earnings of the majority of the Chinese population were insufficient to permit them to rent larger living quarters than they actually occupied. The basic cause of housing congestion was economic. As we have seen, the earnings of a principal wage earner were in general insufficient for the needs of his family, nor did the average total wages earned by all family members meet these needs. Under these circumstances it is obvious that a family will pay as little as possible for rent, and will occupy an unbelievably small space in order to reduce rental expenditure.

633 362 THE SETTLEMENT WAS by no means complacent in the matter of its bad housing conditions. At the annual meeting of ratepayers in 1936, a British resident proposed the following resolution:

> "Whereas the constant growth in the population of this Foreign Settlement has been accompanied by a rapid development of industrialism and many changes in the living conditions of the people: and
>
> "Whereas serious public concern has been manifested over the resultant housing congestion and other unfavourable conditions associated therewith: and
>
> "Whereas no definite steps have been taken toward the examination of the problem with a view to possible measures for preventing its further aggravation,

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362 633 nomic and social recommendations. The early onset of hostilities precluded action.

On August 13 fighting broke out, and the city entered a most difficult period from which, down to August 1942, it had not emerged. If a housing problem existed prior to hostilities, it was more serious later. If difficulties were experienced in finding remedies then, they were rendered almost insuperable by the influx of a refugee population which largely remained in the city.

342 362 IT HAS BEEN POINTED out that the provision of housing by owners of large industrial enterprises was frequent.[4] This may take the form of factory dormitories, accommodating single men or women within the factory compound. Or it may be that the management constructs houses of the usual type which are let to workers, often at rates below the rate ruling in the city generally. The Division's view was that dormitories were not desirable, for workers housed in them were in the position of being virtually under the direction of employers both during their working and their leisure hours. Admittedly the physical conditions in some dormitories were better than those within the ability of low-paid workers to obtain in the community; but the freedom which the right to leave the factory at the close of the day represents may not be dearly bought by accepting less good housing outside. Employers took the view that they were conferring a benefit in the provision of housing at cheap rents, but such payment in kind is close to the old evil of "truck." Adequate wages for workers to obtain their own housing are desirable.[5]

633 342 362 Controls over dormitory development were exercised in the first instance through the Building Surveyor, who carefully calculated the per capita air space for the number of beds which it was proposed to install. Through the Industrial and Social Division, progress was made in obtaining the installation of bathroom and laundry accommodations, and more recently of ventilation systems, in

[4] See the discussion of Employment Relations, Chapter V.

[5] In June 1941, one enterprise which housed 330 men in a dormitory on a mill compound and intended to erect a second building to house 300 women workers reversed its policy. It added $10 per month to the wages of all employees, men and women, to help them to find housing elsewhere. It continues to supply hot baths, and provide laundry facilities, activities in the best "welfare" tradition of western countries. A second millowner who had not thought of dormitories in the light of limitation of freedom abandoned extension programmes.

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new dormitories. Provision for rooms for drying workers' clothes by steam, instead of having them hanging damp, depressing and unhygienic in already crowded bedrooms, represented further betterment. Standards were rising. The happiness of workers in dormitories is conditioned also by psychological factors. In an effort to enlist dormitory matrons in the campaign for better conditions of dormitory life, a course of discussions over six weeks was held. Thirty-six women from twenty-six factories came, their interest increasing as the course proceeded. Hygiene in the dormitory, food, provision of recreation and education, and some talks aimed to interest the matrons in achieving harmony and more ordered living were among the subjects discussed. Individual visits were paid to the matrons and they were encouraged to come to the office of the Division for consultation and refreshment in their task.

REFERENCE HAS BEEN made to the high rents which the overcrowding resulting from hostilities produced. Rents in 1942 were almost five times what they had been in 1936. To some actual property owners this figure seemed fantastic. By rulings of the First Special District Chinese Court, rentals of those lessees amenable to the Court were not permitted to be raised by more than twenty per cent, which means that the property owner did not receive more than twenty per cent above his 1936 rate. His costs meantime increased greatly. Charges for water consumed in many cases equalled the rent received. For the purpose of the cost of living index figures, actual "retail" rentals paid by sub-tenants who rent a portion of a house from the principal tenant were considered. The principal tenant, taking advantage of the enormous demand for housing produced by the hostilities, raised the rentals of his sub-tenants on every pretext.

To discover the extent to which principal tenants were exploiting the housing shortage and squeezing the last cent possible from their sub-tenants, a study of the problem was made by Council officials in 1940. A typical situation was found to be as follows. The principal tenant paid his landlord an annual rental of only $960, although investigation of investment, water costs, which the landlord met, and other charges demonstrated that he should, instead, have paid $1,398. In rentals from his sub-tenants, however, he took in $2,004, in addition to the value of the space which he